2:Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
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177 Today one's initial contact with Easter Island natives and their village of Hangaroa creates the definite illusion that here acculturation toward a Chilean pattern approaches completion and it is only a question of the government's passing the necessary laws to give them the right to vote until final absorption will be well on its way. Such traits as European style frame or cement-walled houses with corrugated-tin roofs, the full acceptance of the riding aspect of horse culture, the occasional use of ox carts and ox-drawn plows, and the complete acceptance of European style clothing, including well polished shoes on Sunday, reflect a more rural Continental setting than a Polynesian-inhabited island in the Pacific. Contacting the Chilean officials, one soon meets their native aides: mechanics who can take a Jeep apart and put it together again; a machinist renowned for fixing the most delicate wrist watches on the island; a budding meteorologist who, for the past two years, has been one of the instrument observers at the Chilean Air Force meteorological station. These are, to be sure, extreme cases, often representing men who have been sent to Chile for advanced education or who have made a living on the continent for several years. However, they fit so well into the observed modification toward Chilean culture that their somewhat extreme positions in the acculturation pattern are not readily apparent. Certainly Easter Island, [105] seen from an archaeologist's point of view, i.e., from the material culture evidence, presents a picture in 1956 of a dominantly Europeanized culture with a minor lag showing up in such things as the continued use of adzes, now made of steel, a customarily separate kitchen in the family architectural layout, a continued use of certain Polynesian foods, and a highly developed woodcarving tradition obviously kept alive by the products' salability to the tourists during their annual invasion of the island.

121 During the five month excavation season of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island, no time was available for an intensive study of Rapanui culture as it is today. However, through director Thor Heyerdahl's interest in aiding the islanders' economy by using them wherever possible, opportunity was made available to the archaeologists to gather ethnographic data. During my 115 excavation of various sites on the volcano of Rano Kao I employed four Easter 124 Islanders: Jorge Tepano, Roberto Tepano, Juan Atan, and Rafael Roe. These men, perforce, served as my informants, the periods of "interview" consisting of directed conversations while riding up the volcano to work, during the lunch hour, and again during the afternoon descent. These were occasionally supplemented by specific appointments, usually with Jorge Tepano, the most knowledgeable of the four. There was no time nor opportunity to cross-check my information with natives other than my four workers, so that the data presented below are

2:Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
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not as complete as they might be, and may tend to be weighted in that all four men were related in one way or another. However this paper, and one on trading techniques which I hope to publish at a future date, show quite clearly that advanced acculturation on the island is, for the most part, only material culture deep and has as yet penetrated only sporadically into the social organization of the people.

BIRTH

Except for a ceremony at the birth of a first child, there appears to be no regularized ritual for births as such. At the present moment an expectant mother either goes to the Naval-run hospital for delivery, or stays at home where her child is delivered with the aid of a midwife. I could learn of no pre-natal or post-parture taboos enforced on either the parents or the child. The rubbing of a fine red iron oxide powder into the baby's navel may have once had ceremonial significance but is now explained as merely an aid in the drying up of the umbilical cord.

It is apparently only the first child, especially a boy child, whose birth is fraught with a danger that must be assuaged by ceremony. Once the ceremony has been completed, however, a time for general celebration and feasting is immediately at hand.

Upon the occasion of the first birth to a married couple the father-in-law of the child's mother immediately prepares a small *umu*, i.e., a meal prepared in a pit oven, which is allowed to cook through the night. At the break of dawn on the following day the immediate families of both the child's parents open the *umu* but do not touch the inclosed food until the new mother has first partaken of it to "bring luck to her baby." After she has eaten this token meal, these relatives finish this initial *umu* and immediately begin preparations for a large *umu* feast for their friends and relatives in celebration of the birth. As with the inter-familial exchange of gifts at the time of a wedding, the respective families of the new parents each prepare their own *umu* and, upon its completion, present it to the opposite family, after which both meals are pooled for the general feasting of friends and relatives. Since such a feast may have to provide for a large portion of the population, each member of the extended family may be called upon to furnish a quantity of food in the form of chickens, eggs, *camotes* or sweet potatoes, etc. Even friends may be called upon and "if they have food beyond their needs they will give to the *umu*." Each friend or relative coming to the feast brings with him, or her, a small *umu* gift for the new mother. This usually consists of a small, wrapped bundle containing chicken or, perhaps, *camote*. It was never made

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In addition to the finding of the first egg two other ceremonies were mentioned in connection with Orongo and Motu Nui: they were known as "Manu" and "Také" and frequently spoken of together, but to obtain detailed information was a matter of great difficulty. On the subject of Také I have notes of twenty conversations with nine different persons, none of which was really satisfactory; it finally transpired that no first-hand knowledge existed as the rites had been abandoned thirty years before the coming of the missionaries and not as the result of their teaching. All that can be safely said is that those concerned went into retreat on Motu Nui, living, it was stated, in the cave where the hopu awaited the birds; the period was generally given as three months. A vigorous discussion took place on the subject between the oldest man and woman on the island seated on a log in the garden of the old lady; she was positive, in agreement with other authorities, that také was for children, "the boys and girls went in a canoe to the island"; he firmly adhered to the statement that his father went for také after he, the son, was born. The only remaining native who knew anything of the art of hieroglyphic writing stated that také formed the subject of one of the tablets and drew one of its figures, which bears no resemblance to any other known symbol.

Information since acquired of practices elsewhere in the Pacific has suggested the possibility that the retreat was in connection with tattooing and not directly with the bird cult. In some confirmation of this tattooing is stated to have been practised at Mata-Gnarau, the carved rocks of Orongo, and a folk-tale speaks of the earliest exponents of the art as living in a specified cave, not that of the hopu, on Motu Nui. The practice was admittedly on the down grade even before the cataclysm of the sixties.

The details of Manu were more satisfactory. It was known as "Te manu mo te poki," or "the bird for the child," and the child so initiated became a "poki manu,"

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532 yards for a distance of some six miles, and must have produced an im-
487 posing effect. We never found a statue of which we could definitely say that it was in process of removal, and we have no light to throw on the means employed, beyond the fact that graded roads have been made.

178 We trust that the result of our archæological work will be to give a
124 reasonably full and complete survey of the remains as they at present exist on Easter Island. Another channel was open to us, in studying the history of the island, namely, Ethnological Research. No hope had been held out to us before leaving England that anything of value could be obtained from the existing natives. It came therefore as a surprise to find that there was still much of interest to be learned from the old inhabitants. Ten years ago more could have been learnt; ten years hence practically nothing will remain.

175 It must be borne in mind that in dealing with the history of Easter
178 Island we have three periods to consider. Firstly prehistoric times whose
124 story it is desired to decipher; secondly a period of one hundred and fifty years dating from the first discovery of the island, during which time ships touched at intervals and have left a certain amount of record of what they found; and thirdly the present period of European occupation. Between the two last periods there is a great break. In 1863 certain slave raiders from Peru carried off half the population, including most of the principal men. In 1864 Roman Catholic missionaries landed, and speedily converted the remaining natives to Christianity. Old customs died out; old tradition was despised. Only those, therefore, who could remember native life prior to 1863 or 1864 could give any assistance. There were on our landing some twelve old people who came into this category; but
198 even so the difficulties in the pursuit of knowledge were very great. It
124 would not, as will readily be understood, be an easy matter to reconstruct English life of fifty years ago merely from the accounts of old people. The Polynesians are in addition notoriously inexact in their statements. They frequently do not themselves know when they are speaking the truth and when they are relying on imagination. Each witness had therefore to be cross-examined carefully but without any doubt being thrown on his story, which would immediately have given offence. Then some weeks later he was discreetly re-examined, when he had forgotten his previous evidence, and his account compared with those of others. The statements which follow have been thus very carefully verified; but there is much in addition on which information was sought but on which it is impossible to speak with certainty or even to speak at all.

124 The first question which naturally arises is with regard to Tradition, "Do the present inhabitants know anything of the origin of the great works?" To this, speaking generally, the answer is in the negative. They take the statues for granted, and they are of no particular interest to them. One boy inquired with the pity akin to contempt, "Have you

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no 'moai' (as they are termed) in England?" To ask the natives for the history of the images is as unsuccessful as to expect an old woman in the street to account for the statues in Parliament Square. The story which is universally told to account for the cessation of the work is as follows: "The chief person among the image makers was the cook; she was an old woman of great authority, and moved the statues by supernatural power ('mana'). One day on returning to the mountain she found that during her absence the workers had had a great feast of lobster and that nothing had been left for her. So great was her wrath that she threw down the statues and brought the whole work to a conclusion."

There are a considerable number of folk tales, but they deal almost entirely with wars between the different clans on the island, in which cannibalism played a large part. They contain an occasional allusion to the terraces, but none to the statues. Nevertheless when it has been stated that the natives are ignorant of the subject of the images certain qualifications must be introduced. They never deviate from the statement that the figures were made by their ancestors. They point out the first statue, a block lying on the outside of the mountain in which the worker seems to have involved himself in a certain amount of confusion between ear and shoulder. This man went, they say, to the other side of the other island to get information from an old man who resided there as to how a statue ought to be made. The man would not answer his questions, and the worker was coming away disheartened when the old man called him back. "Make the statue like me," he said. It was to be in the form of a man. Tradition points to a boundary on the mountain Rano Raraku which can only be the tabu line that preserved the image workers from intrusion.

On one subject it was possible to obtain information—the epoch when the statues were overthrown. They were standing in the time of Roggeveen, and many at any rate were still in position in the days of Cook. The last one was overthrown by the fathers of the present old men who as boys assisted their fathers—that is, about 1835.

There is a curious little piece of information preserved about this last statue, which is one of the tallest, measuring about 32 feet. There is a hillock near the terrace on which it stood, and it is said that after the statue was in place a causeway was constructed from this hillock to the statue, by which means the crown was placed on the head of the image.

Turning from tradition we sought to discover if there was any analogy between the details of the statues and native custom. In addition to their general form the images have three special characteristics—their hats, their ears, and the design on their backs.

If the form of hat could be traced and the people could be found who wore such hats, we should be appreciably nearer the solution of our problem. A careful inquiry was therefore made into native headdresses, but its results were suggestive rather than conclusive. It can hardly have

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correct representation would be a stone vertical on a stone horizontal. Every individual who has lived, even temporarily, in the place, has collected stones and put them up according to taste; and every succeeding generation, also needing stones, has, as in the instance of the manager's wall, found them most readily in ruining or converting the work of their predecessors. Even when a building is comparatively intact, the original design and purpose can only be grasped by experience, and matters become distinctly complicated when the walls of an ahu have been made into a garden enclosure and a chicken-house turned into an ossuary. It must be remembered also that rough stone buildings bear in themselves no marks of age. The cairns put up by us to mark the distances for rifle fire from the camp were indistinguishable from those of prehistoric nature made for a very different purpose. The result is that the tumble-down remains of yesterday, and the scenes of unknown antiquity blend together in a confusing whole in which it is not always easy to distinguish even the works of nature from those of man.

The other source of information which was open to us was the memory of the old people. If but little was known of the great works, it was possible that there might still linger knowledge of customs or folk-lore which would throw indirect light on origins. This field proved to be astonishingly large, but it was even more difficult to collect facts from brains than out of stones. On our arrival there were still a few old people who were sufficiently grown up in the sixties to recall something of the old life; with the great majority of these, about a dozen in number, we gradually got in touch, beginning with those who worked for Mr. Edmunds and hearing from them of others. It was momentous work, for the eleventh hour was striking, day by day they were dropping off; it was a matter of anxious consideration whose testimony should first be recorded for fear that, meanwhile, others should be gathered to their fathers, and their store of knowledge lost for ever. Against the longer recollection of extreme old age, had to be put the fact that the memories of those a little younger were generally more clear and accurate. The feeling of responsibility from a scientific point of view was very great. Ten years ago more could have been done; ten years hence little or nothing will remain of this source of knowledge.

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124 Most happily, these authorities were in almost every case willing and ready to talk, and our debt to them is great. They came with us, as has been seen, on our explorations of the island, but the greater part of the work was done when we were living near the village. Some of them took pleasure in coming up to Mataveri and talking in the veranda, enjoying still more, no doubt, the practical outcome of their subsequent visits to Bailey's domain—the kitchen. Others were more at ease in their own surroundings, and then we went down to the village and discussed old days in their little banana-plots, while interested neighbours came in to join the fray. Sometimes a man did better by himself, but on other occasions to get two or three together stimulated conversation. Unfortunately, some of the old men who knew most were confined to the leper settlement [164] some three miles north of Hanga Roa, and the infectious power of leprosy was not a subject which we had got up before leaving England. The Captain of the *Kildalton* feared lest even the distance of the settlement from the Manager's house might not suffice to prevent the plague being carried there by insects, and told a gruesome tale, within his knowledge, of two white men who had gone for a visit to a Pacific island, one of whom on their return to an American port had been immediately sent back to a leper colony. But how could one allow the last vestige of knowledge in Easter Island to die out without an effort? So I went, disinfected my clothes on return, studied, must it be confessed, my fingers and toes, and hoped for the best.

It would not be easy for a foreigner to reconstruct English society fifty years ago, even from the descriptions of well-educated old men; it is particularly difficult to arrive at the truth from the untutored mind. Even when the natives knew well what they were talking about, they would forget to mention some part of the story, which to them was self-evident, but at which the humble European could not be expected to guess. The bird story, for example, had for many months been wrestled with before it transpired precisely what was meant by the "first egg." Deliberate invention was rare, but, when memory was a little vague, there was a constant tendency to glide from what was remembered to what was imagined. Scientific work of this nature really ought to qualify for a high position at the bar. The witness had to be heard, and discreetly cross-examined without

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any doubt being thrown on his story, which would at once have given offence; then allowed to forget and again re-examined, his story being compared with that of others who had been heard meanwhile. Counsel had also to be judge and to act as reporter, and at the same time keep the witness amused and prevent the interpreter from being bored, or the court would promptly have broken up. Though great care has been exercised, it must be remembered, when a particular account is quoted, as, for example, that of Te Haha regarding the annual inspection of the tablets, while it is believed to rest on fact, its absolute accuracy cannot be guaranteed.

The language question naturally added to the difficulty. On landing two courses had been open, either to go on with Spanish, of which the younger men had a certain knowledge, and which was used by Mr. Edmunds, or to try to get some hold of the native tongue. The latter plan was decided on, and though at one time the difficulties seemed so great that this course was almost regretted, in the end it was vindicated. There is, as stated, a vocabulary in French made by the missionaries, and also one in Spanish, but there is no grammar of any kind. The French carpenter, Varta, was some assistance, particularly at the beginning. The first steps were the easiest. The Kanakas were much interested in my endeavours, and rushed round wildly, bringing any object they could lay hands on in order to teach its name; but even with the nouns an unexpected complication arose. The natives speak, not only their own language, but, side by side with it, that of Tahiti, which is used in their religious books and services; there are affinities between the two, but they are quite dissimilar, and to understand conversation it was necessary to learn both. This very much prolonged the task, and also lessened the results obtained.

The next stage, the putting together of sentences, was still more difficult. How was it possible to talk in a language which had no verb "to be"? I had, it is true, a native maid (fig. 29), but, after the simplest phrases had been learnt, topics for conversation were difficult to find. We looked through illustrated magazines together, but wild beasts, railway trains, and the greater part of the pictures of all kinds, conveyed nothing to her. The plan was therefore hit on of a tale, after the manner of the *Arabian Nights*, dealing with imaginary

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124 events on the island; it was very weird, but served its purpose, though there were initial difficulties. The heroine, for instance, was christened "Maria," but "there were," Parapina said, "three Marias on the island. Which was it?" and it was long before she grasped, if indeed she ever did so entirely, that the lady was imaginary. A certain sequence of events was somehow made intelligible to her. She was then induced to repeat the story, while it was taken down. It was copied out and next day read again to her for further correction. Every word and idea gained was a help in understanding local names and the native point of view. Before the end, in addition to using the language for the ordinary affairs of life, it was found possible to get simple answers direct from the old men, and understand first-hand much of what they said.

115 Any real success in intercourse was, however, due to the intelligence of one individual who was known as Juan Tepano. He was a younger man about forty years of age, a full-blooded Kanaka, but had served his time in the Chilean army, and thus had seen something of men and manners; he talked a little pidgin English, which was a help in the earlier stages, but before the end he and I were able to understand each other entirely in Kanaka, and he made clear to the old men anything I wished to know, and explained their answers to me. It was interesting to notice how his perception gradually grew of what truth and accuracy meant, and he finally assumed the attitude of watch-dog to prevent my being imposed on. Happily, it was discovered that he was able to draw, and he took great delight in this new-found power, which proved most useful. The tattoo designs were obtained, for example, by giving him a large sheet of paper with an outline of a man or woman, also a pencil and piece of candle; these he took down to the village, gathered the old men together in their huts in the evening, and brought up in the morning the figure adorned by the direction of the ancients (fig. 88). He took a real interest in the work, learning through the conversations much about the place which was new to him, and at the end of the time triumphantly stated, "Mam-ma now knows everything there is to know about the island."

128 It is proposed to unite the information gained from locality and memory, referring where necessary to the accounts of the early voyagers, and give as complete descriptions as possible

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on his death to Maurata. When Maurata went to Peru, Také, a relative of Te Haha, obtained them, and Salmon asked Te Haha to get hold of them for him. Také, however, unfortunately owed Te Haha a grudge, because when Te Haha was in Salmon's service, and consequently well off, he did not give him as many presents as his relative thought should have been forthcoming, and he consequently refused to surrender them. They were hidden in a cave whose general locality was surmised, but Také died without making known the exact site, and they could never be found. Kaimokoi's tablets were burnt in war.

The question remains what were the subjects with which the tablets dealt, and in what manner did they record them? Various attempts have been made to deal with a problem which will probably never be wholly solved. Twice before our own day native assistance has been sought to decipher them. It will be remembered that the existence of these glyphs was first reported by the missionaries; but even at that time, when volunteers were asked for who could translate them, none came forward, Bishop Jaussen, Vicaire Apostolique of Tahiti, managed to find in that island a native of Easter among those brought there to work on the Brander plantations, who was supposed to understand them, and who read them after the boustrophedon method. From the information given by him, the Bishop was satisfied that the signs represented different things, such as sun, stars, the ariki, and so forth, and has given a list of the figures and their equivalent. At the same time he held that each one was only a peg on which to hang much longer matter which was committed to memory. The other attempt to obtain a translation was that of Paymaster Thomson, of U.S.S. *Mohican*, in 1886. There was then living an old man, Ure-vae-iko by name, who was said to be the last to understand the form of writing; he declined to assist in deciphering them on the ground that his religious teachers had said it would imperil his soul. Photographs, however, were shown, and, by the aid of stimulants, he was induced to give a version of their meaning, the words of which were taken down by Salmon. It was, however, remarked that when the photographs were changed, the words proceeded just the same.

Inquiries were made by the Expedition about this old man, and it was agreed by the islanders that he had never possessed

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212 any tablets nor could he make them, but that he had been a
114 servant of Ngaara and had learnt to repeat them. Before
124 leaving the island we went with the old men through the five
translations given by Thomson. Of three nothing was known; one which describes the process of creation was recognised as that of a kohau, but looked at a little askance, as there were Tahitian words in it. The last was laughed out of court as being merely a love-song which everyone knew.

Our own early experiences had resembled those of the Americans. Photographs of tablets, which were produced merely to elicit general information, were to our surprise promptly read, certain words being assigned to each figure; but after a great deal of trouble had been taken, in drawing the signs and writing down the particular matter, it was found that any figure did equally well. The natives were like children pretending to read and only reciting. It was noted, however, with interest, that in perhaps half a dozen cases different persons recited words approximately the same, beginning, "He timo te ako-ako, he ako-ako tena," and on inquiry it was said that they were derived from one of the earliest tablets and were generally known. It was "like the alphabet learned first"; Ure-vai-iko had stated that they were the "great old words," all others being only "little ones." To get any sort of translation was a difficult matter, to ask for it was much the same as for a stranger solemnly to inquire the meaning of some of our own old nursery rhymes, such as "Hey diddle diddle, the cat and the fiddle"—some words could be explained, others could not, the whole meaning was unknown. It seems safe, however, to assume that at least we have here the contents of one of the old tablets.

212 With regard to other kohau, a list was obtained of the subjects with which they were believed to deal. These amounted to thirteen in all, most of the names being given by several different persons. We have seen that there was a kohau of the "Ika," the murdered men; this was known to only one professor, who taught it to a pupil, and the two divided the island between them, the master taking the west and north coast to Anakena and the pupil the remainder. A connected, or possibly the same, tablet was made at the instance of the relatives of the victim and helped to secure vengeance. Certain kohau were said to be lists of wars; some dealt with ceremonies, and others

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212 124 We were fortunately just in time to come across a man who had been able to make one species of glyphs, though he was no longer, alas! in the hey-day of his powers. We were shown one day in the village a piece of paper taken from a Chilean manuscript book, on which were somewhat roughly drawn a number of signs, some of them similar to those already known, others different from any we had seen (fig. 99). They were found to have been derived from an old man known as Tomenika. He was, by report, the last man acquainted with an inferior kind of rongo-rongo known as the "tau," but was now ill and confined to the leper colony. We paid a visit to him armed with a copy of the signs, but found him inside his doorway, which it was obviously undesirable to enter, and disinclined to give help; he acknowledged the figures as his work, recited "He timo te ako-ako," and explained some of the signs as having to do with "Jesus Christ." The outlook was not promising.

212 126 Another visit, however, was paid, this time with Juan's assistance, and though the old man appeared childish, and the natives frankly said that "he had lost his memory," things went better. He was seated on a blanket outside his grass-hut, bare-legged, wearing a long coat and felt hat; he had piercing brown eyes, and in younger days must have been both good-looking and intelligent. He asked if we wanted the tau, and requested a paper and pencil. The former he put on the ground in front of him between his legs, and took hold of the pencil with his thumb above and first finger below; he made three vertical lines, first of noughts then of ticks, gave a name to each line, and proceeded to recite. There was no doubt about the genuineness of the recitation, but he gabbled fast, and when asked to go slowly so that it could be taken down, was put out and had to begin again; he obviously used the marks simply to keep count of the different phrases. At the end of the visit he offered to write something for next time. We left some paper with him, and on our return two or three days later he had drawn five lines horizontally, of which four were in the form of the glyphs, but the same figure was constantly repeated, and there were not more than a dozen different symbols in all. It was said by the escort to be "lazy writing." Tomenika complained that the paper was not "big enough," so another sheet was given, which was put by the side of the first and the lines continued in turn

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managed, however, between us to get there three times in all. Once, when I was there without S., there was an anxious moment on re-embarking. No one quite knew what happened. Some of the crew said that the gunwale of the boat, as she rose on a wave, caught under an overhanging shelf of rock, others were of the opinion that the sudden weight of the last man, who at that moment leapt into the boat, upset her balance; anyway, this tale was very nearly never written. Once landed on the island, the surface is comparatively level and presents no difficulties; it is about five acres in extent, the greater part is covered with grass, and in every niche and cranny of the rock are sea-birds' nests. By a large bribe of tobacco one of the most active old men was induced to accompany us, and to point out the sites of interest. Later, we followed up the story at Raraku, and so little by little at many times, in divers places, and from various people was gathered the story of the bird cult which follows.

Not many sea-birds frequent this part of the Pacific, but on Motu Nui some seven species find an abiding-place. Some stay for the whole year, some come for the winter, and yet others for the summer. Among the last is a kind known to the natives as manu-tara[1]; it arrives in September, the spring of the southern hemisphere. The great object of life in Easter was to be the first to obtain one of the newly laid eggs of this bird. It was too solemn a matter for there to be any general scramble. Only those who belonged to the clan in the ascendancy for the time being could enter on the quest. Sometimes one group would keep it in their hands for years, or they might pass it on to a friendly clan. This selection gave rise, as might be expected, to burnings of hearts; the matter might be, and probably often was, settled by war. One year the Marama were inspired with jealousy because the Miru had chosen the Ngaure as their successors, and burnt down the house of Ngaara. This was, perhaps, the beginning of the fray when the old Ariki was carried off captive.

The fortunate clan, or clans, for sometimes several combined, left nothing to chance; in fact, as soon as one year's egg had been found, the incoming party made sure of their right of way by taking up their abode at the foot of Rano Kao—namely, at

[1] Sooty Tern.

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met with an almost embarrassing response, eighty-six being quoted straight away; some of these may be the official names of bird-men and not represent a year, but they probably do so in most cases; chronological sequence was achieved with fair certainty for eleven years prior to the final celebration at Orongo. In addition to the bird-name, the names of both winner and hopu were ascertained, with those of their respective clans.

FIG. 113.

Porotu acted as a hopu. He refused to be photographed, and the sketch was surreptitiously made, whilst obtaining the account of his official experiences. He also assisted in carrying the remains of Ko Tori (p. 225).

TAKÉ AND MANU

Two other ceremonies were mentioned in connection with Orongo and Motu Nui, but to obtain detailed information was very difficult. It finally transpired that of "také" no first-hand knowledge existed, as the rites had been abandoned thirty years before the coming of the missionaries. All that can be safely said is that those concerned went into retreat on Motu Nui, living, it was stated, in the cave where the hopu awaited the birds; the period was generally given as three months. A vigorous discussion took place on the subject between Viriamo and Jotefa, the oldest man in the village, seated on a log in the garden of the old lady. She was positive, in agreement with other authorities, that také was for children—"the boys and girls went in a canoe to the island"; he firmly adhered to the statement that his father went for také, after he, the son, was born. Tomenika stated that